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Message Text

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FOL RPT TEL AVIV 3415 ACTION SECSTATE INFO AMMAN CAIRO
DAMASCUS JERUSALEM 13 MAY 77 QUOTE

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E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS:PINT, IS
SUBJECT: CONVERSATION WITH DMC LEADER AND SHELLI ACTIVIST

1. POLITICAL OFFICER MET WITH SHMUEL TOLEDANO, FORMER ADVISOR TO THE PRIME MINISTER FOR ARAB AFFAIRS, AND DAN JACOBSON, PROFESSOR OF INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS AT TEL AVIV UNIVERSITY. TOLEDANO RESIGNED HIS POST AND QUIT THE LABOR PARTY IN JANUARY TO JOIN THE DMC. HE IS NUMBER SEVEN ON ITS LIST. JACOBSON IS AN ACTIVIST IN SHELLI, THE LEFTIST PEACE BLOC THAT WAS ORGANIZED IN MARCH.

2. TOLEDANO CONFIRMED THE WIDESPREAD IMPRESSION THAT THE DMC HAD RECENTLY BEGUN PICKING UP STEAM. HE ESTIMATED IT WOULD WIN 12-15 SEATA --" POSSIBLY MORE." IN ADDITION TO THE FACTORS ADVERSELY AFFECTING THE
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DMC'S FORTUNES THAT WE HAVE HEARD FROM OTHERS (LACK OF "ORIENTALS" ON ITS LIST, CHARGES AGAINST YADIN), TELEDANO MENTIONED THE IMPRESSION THAT SHMUEL TAMIR HAD TAKEN OVER THE PARTY. HE SAID THAT THIS PERCEPTION HAD HURT HIS PARTY AMONG LEFT-LEANING DOVISH ELEMENTS. TOLEDANO STRESSED THAT DMC ACTIVISTS ARE A

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HIGHLY IDEALISTIC GROUP--PROBABLY TO THE PINT
OF BEING NAIVE. HE THOUGHT THIS, HOWEVER, WOULD
EVENTUALLY BE THEIR STRENGTH. THEY WILL STICK
TO THEIR PRINCIPLES EVEN IF IT MEANT PAYING A
POLITICAL PRICE. HE CITED HIS OWN CASE IN
ILLUSTRATION. HE CLAIMED HE COULD HAVE
BROUGHT 20-30,000 ARAB VOTERS WITH HIM INTO
THE DMC FROM HIS FORMER POSITION IN THE GOVERNMENT,
BUT AS A MATTER OF PRINCIPLE HE WAS
BARRED BY THE DMC CAMPAIGN MANAGERS FROM
CAMPAIGNING AMONG THE ARABS. ONLY WHEN OTHER
DMC CANDIDATES ADMITTED FAILURE IN REACHING
THE ARAB LEADERS WHO COULD DELIVER VOTES,
DID THEY TURN TO TOLEDANO AND ASK HIM TO WORK
AMONG THE ARABS. THAT WAS THREE WEEKS AGO AND
TOLEDANO BELIEVES IT CAME TOO LATE--ALTHOUGH
HE IS RECEIVING GOOD RESPONSES IN THE AREAS THAT
HE CAN STILL COVER.

3. TOLEDANO NOTED THAT THE ALIGNMENT DOES NOT
CAMPAIGN FOR ITSELF AMONG ARABS BUT INSTEAD
DIRECTS ARAB VOTERS TO ITS AFFILIATE, THE UNITED
ARAB LIST. HE CONSIDERS THIS A MISTAKE. THERE
ARE NO LABOR PARTY CELLS AMONG THE ARABS. IF
AN ARAB WANTS TO JOIN THE LABOR PARTY HE MUST
ENROLL WITH A JEWISH BRANCH. HE THOUGHT THAT
THE UNITED ARAB LIST WOULD RECEIVE ABOUT TWO
SEATS AND RAKAH SEVEN. HE DISPUTED HANNOCH
SMITH'S ANALYSIS THAT WOULD GIVE RAKAH FIVE
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SEATS, OR SIX AT MOST (TEL AVIV 3139). TOLEDANO
SAID THAT THE NRP RECEIVED ABOUT 11,000 ARAB
VOTES IN THE 1973 ELECTION--ENOUGH FOR NEARLY
ONE SEAT. THIS WOULD GO DOWN TO 6,500 - 8,000
VOTES THIS TIME. IT WAS NOT ONLY THE KOENIG
REPORT THAT EXPLAINS THIS LOSS; MORE IMPORTANT,
ACCORDING TO TOLEDANO, WAS THE NRP ABSENCE FROM
THE GOVERNMENT. THEY NO LONGER CONTROL THE KEY
MINISTRIES (SO FAR AS THE ARABS ARE CONCERNED)
OF INTERIOR AND RELIGION.

4. JACOBSON BELONGS TO A SMALL CIRCLE OF
INTELLECTUALS THAT IS NOT PART OF ANY OF SHELLI'S
FORU CONSTITUENT PARTIES (INDEPENDENT SOCIALISTS,
MOKED, HALOM HAZEH, AND ONE OF THE BLACK
PANTEHER GROUPS) BUT WHO ARE MEMBERS OF SHELLI
AT LARGE. HE SAID THAT SHELLI'S BASIC
DIFFERENCE WITH THE DMC IS ONE OF PRIORITIES. SHELLI
BELIEVES THAT ISRAEL'S OVERRIDING IMPERATIVE

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IS AN ACCOMMODATION WITH THE ARABS. UNTIL THERE IS PEACE AND ACCEPTANCE, THERE CAN BE NO INTERNAL REFORM OR REAL ECONOMIC PROGRESS IN ISRAEL. ISRAEL SHOULD DECLARE ITS READINESS TO WITHDRAW FROM THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES, EXCEPT FOR MINOR BORDER ADJUSTMENTS AGREED TO BY BOTH SIDES. SHELLI ADVOCATES SELF-DETERMINATION ON THE WEST BANK AND WOULD ACCEPT A SEPARATE PALESTINIAN STATE. HOWEVER, ALL EVACUATED TERRITORIES MUST BE DEMILITARIZED WITH JOINT ARAB-ISRAELI SUPERVISION. JACOBSON SAID THAT HIS CONERN IS THAT ISRAEL MUST REMAN ESSENTIALLY JEWISH. HE HAD GRAVE CONCERNS ABOUT THE EFFECTS ON ISRAEL OF CONTINUED OCCUPATION OF AN UNWILLING PEOPLE. CONTINUED OCCUPATION IS NOT REAL SECURITY NOR CAN IT REALISTICALLY BE MAINTAINED INDEFINITELY.

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5. JACOBSON BELIEVED THAT SHELLI IS HAVING SOME SUCCESS AMONG TRADITIONAL MAPAM VOTERS. SHELLI IS ALSO DEVOTING A CONSIDERABLE AMOUNT OF ITS RESOURCES TO ARAB VOTERS WITH, SO FAR, FAIR SUCCESS. JACOBSON THOUGHT SHELLI WOULD WITN THREE OR FOUR SEATS--ANYTHING LESS WOULD BE A DISAPPOINTMENT FOR HIM. HE WOULD REGARD CAPTURING FIVE SEATS AS A SIGNIFICANT, AS WELL AS SURPRISING, VICTORY.
DUNNIGAN

UNQUOTE CHRISTOPHER

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Disposition Approved on Date:
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